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was the village headman. Neighbouring villages (*hattu*), though of different lineages and even of different phratries, grouped themselves together for protective purposes under the headmanship of one prominent village into what I have called communes (*u:r*).[12] Thus Ke:ti, for example, is the leading village in Ke:ti commune, which embraces fifteen other contiguous villages, most of them belonging to one maximal lineage (*kuḍumbu*). The village headman of Ke:ti is also headmen of the commune.

We shall now examine legends of how the various clans and phratries became established on the hills to clarify the history of this intermittent migration. The recently formed Christian phratry will not be considered at this point, as it is more relevant to my discussion of modern cultural change.[13] The Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, are distributed among fourteen intermarrying clans which trace their descent from six of the Hindu phratries.

The categories in what follows are treated roughly in order of social superiority. This hierarchy is not accepted, however, by Ha:ruvas and their supporters. Since Ha:ruvas come from the Brahma sept they have recently laid claim to an origin as Brahmins and therefore see themselves as superior to Wodeas and all other Badagas. At the other extremity they consider the Kumba:ras and Be:das to rank below Toreas, since the traditional occupations of the former—potters and huntsmen—could place them below Torea servants in the caste ideology of the Indian plains. The great majority of Badagas, in contrast, place Wodeas at the top and Toreas at the bottom of their social hierarchy.

## WODEAS

The Badaga Lingayats are generally acknowledged to have been among the later groups to arrive. The contention that they were already Lingayat at that time (Macleane, 1893, 64) provides a meagre clue to the date of their migration, for their sect was founded in the mid-twelfth century and this constitutes a *terminus post quem*. Within sixty years of the founder's death (traditionally A.D. 1168) this egalitarian Hindu faith had spread throughout the Kannada-speaking region. It became the state religion when King Vijaya Wodeyar came to the throne in 1399 and remained so until 1610. However a descendant of his, Raja Wodeyar (who ruled from 1578 to 1617), drove the eponymous Wodeya chieftain Udaiya Raya of Ummattu:r up into the Nilgiris and captured his

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562 582 concurrently or sequentially, from his aunts' and nieces' generation levels as well as from his own: such co-wives would all attain the generation level of their husband by these marriages. It is this outlook on women that permits Badaga marriages even between differently ranked clans without any thought of hypergamy being advantageous or hypogamy reprehensible.

582 604 Marriage between cross-cousins is the ideal, but because a young man's spiritual guidance is the responsibility of the mother's brother his daughter is less preferable as a bride for that youth than the father's sister's daughter. The mother's brother, called a *guru*, has a distinctly superior status to his nephew's, yet as giver of a daughter in marriage he must occupy an inferior position in the eyes of the groom and the groom's parents. This is because the bride's father feels under some obligation to the family who will [178] take away his daughter. As one old man explained the matter, the [583] feeling is expressed in the newly emerging practice of offering gifts of some thousands of rupees to 'bribe' a youth into a marriage. The likelihood of role ambiguity in cases where a man marries his *guru's* daughter is avoided either by searching out a classificatory cross-cousin, or by choosing the daughter of a mother's brother other than the spiritual guide or by marrying a father's sister's [184] daughter. (Only among the Toreas is marriage with a classificatory niece permissible: she is a father's brother's daughter's daughter.)

Role ambiguity may also affect the women in a household where a man has married his *guru's* daughter. In that situation the bride's [578] aunt (her father's sister) is also her husband's mother. The bride, [596] relying on her father's influence over his own sister, tends to quarrel more with her than in the alternative case where a man has married his father's sister's daughter: the latter should be more timid and controllable and thus more appreciated.

582 A further reason for preferring marriage with a daughter of the father's sister is the need for reciprocity in bride-giving between 583 exogamous villages. If a man marries his mother's brother's • 628 daughter, he is *taking* a girl from the same village, lineage and family whence his own father also *took* a wife. On the other hand a reciprocal relationship has been honoured, Badagas feel, when the youth *takes* his bride (the father's sister's daughter) from the same village, lineage and family to which his father's father *gave* a [558] daughter in marriage. Since bride-giving is thought to be somewhat demeaning, this reciprocity allows the families to maintain their relative social standing.

food in the outer room only, whereas Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis allow them to eat in the inner room. Such dining occasions usually arise when Gaudas visit families related to them through marriage. In each of these cases the Gaudas receive only vegetarian food; more generally the vegetarian phratries do not eat with non-vegetarians. Toreas may be given food in the outer room of a Gauda home, but meat-eating Adikiris (who may marry Gaudas) eat in the inner one.

## KUMBA:RAS

Few Badagas know of the existence of this phratry, so small are its numbers. They have only fifty households, or about 300 people, who live in two villages near Male Ko:te, where they were once employed as potters (whence their name). Each village is an exogamous clan; when possible, alliances are arranged between the two. As one village contains four times as many families as the other the larger village has to look elsewhere for most of its spouses, however. They no longer intermarry with other Badagas but with the several thousand families of Kanarese Kumba:ras living in and near Mysore City who are believed by the Nilgiri Kumba:ras to share a common ancestry with them. The Kumba:-ras living on the plateau nevertheless class themselves as Badagas and are so recognized by their neighbours as they bear a Badaga culture identical with that of the Gaudas. Among those Badagas who know the Kumba:ra villagers many consider them to be Gaudas, though only at Me:lu:ru have they been absorbed into the Gauda phratry.

The traditional occupation of Kanarese Kumba:ras was potting,[17] and although these Badagas no longer know the craft there are any number of broken sherds stratified at a depth of two or three meters in the ramparts of the old Male Ko:te fortification to testify to this former industry. On the basis of their presumed (if servile) connexion with royalty the Kumba:ras claim to be the highest of all Badaga phratries; other Badagas knowing anything about them rank them below Gaudas and above Be:das and Toreas. Some Kumba:ras are vegetarians; most are not. Their rules for commensality are the same as those of Gaudas.

## BE:DAS

Another small phratry neighbouring on the Kumba:ras, the

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villages, however, the Kurumba watchman has these duties.[19] It is recorded that in the nineteenth century they were also 'weaving a kind of sackcloth',[20] but today neither they nor anyone else can recall this activity.

Alone of all phratries the Toreas are under a slight disadvantage in the Badaga judicial system. In villages where other Badagas also live they may find that, while being permitted to bring cases to the village or commune council and to sit through its deliberations, they must not take part in the discussion that leads up to the headman's decision. A Torea village headman who is excluded from a meeting of the commune council may not complain about such demeaning treatment in the way that any other headman in the commune undoubtedly would. The depressed status of Toreas is symbolized by the fact that during the great memorial ceremonies for a deceased generation *(Manemale)* the Toreas have a separate, smaller catafalque beside the main one.

Many of the twenty-six Torea villages are adjuncts to Gauda villages, set off from them by a mere stone's throw; but a group of nine Torea villages on the eastern edge of the plateau are so isolated that their only close contact is with the Wodeas of De:na:du.

Toreas have two clans, and in many villages both are represented. Despite the well-known precedents in other phratries, they have not begun to marry non-Toreas.

The Toreas can be offered vegetarian food in the houses of all higher phratries and meat in those which habitually eat it themselves. Recently some Gaudas have interdined with Toreas on an equal footing, in their inner rooms, although traditionally none of the other groups would allow Toreas into the inner, more sacred room; they were expected to eat in the outer one. 'If they should eat food with other Badagas, the Toreyas must clear away all remnants of the feast—nobody else will help' (Benbow, 1930, 11). No other phratry, not even the Christians, will accept food in the house of a Torea (Tignous, 1911, 117). In terms of the commensality rules pertaining elsewhere in India the Toreas may therefore have the appearance of a low or untouchable caste; and it is true that, Christians apart, they are the lowest of the Badaga phratries. There is nevertheless a Badaga rule that 'foreigners' and plainsmen may not enter the inner room of any Badaga house: they may be offered food only on the veranda or in the outer room. Badaga

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dominates because of its size, for it consists of some twenty-five families, as compared with the four families in each of the four smallest clans. It is the leader of Ku:kalu clan who settles most of the disputes in these eight villages, although each of them has its own headman. When neither he nor the family elders were able to resolve difficult disputes in the past, the headman of Ku:kalu commune in the northeastern Nilgiris was asked to adjudicate.

The eight villages contain a population of about 800 Badagas, as well as several hundred Iruḷa tribesmen. While no intermarriage occurs between the two groups, there have been stray cases of Badaga men keeping Iruḷa mistresses.

The comparable situation of a peripheral Badaga community living in the Wainad will be discussed below (see pp. 129–131).

## NOTES

1. Grigg, 1880, 219. Their factual legends, devoid of supernatural elements, are in sharp contrast to the origin myths of such tribes as the Toda and the Santal; compare Rivers, 1906, 184, and Orans, 1965, 5.
2. Rivers, 1906, 36; Emeneau, 1937, 103, where the number of clans given for tōwfily is incorrect; see also Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 125. On the priests who make sacrifice, see Rivers, 1906, 39–42, 71–72, 276–285, 354.
3. Srinivas, 1942, 32–38; Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 477. For the taboo on killing snakes, see Breeks, 1873, 104.
4. Diagram 7 roughly illustrates the hierarchy. A stranger to this community will hear claims of much higher ranking than the speakers would dare voice to members of other Badaga clans; here we will only present the most widely agreed-upon ranking. (The existence of a hierarchy does not *ipso facto* make this a caste society).
5. Ward, 1821, lxxi; Hough, 1829, 88. Their thread, unlike that of Brahmins, has only one strand.
6. Note, for example, the wives of Huṭṭi in Diagram 5. The Badaga kinship terminology is of the Dakota type (Hockings, in press).
7. hepṇa du:ranta koḷḷu/danava sa:rṇta koḷḷu.
8. Jagor, 1876, 202; Francis 1908, 130–131. "At a funeral the Badagas in general take off their turbans, but the Wodearu keep theirs on. Every Native, not even excepting the petty hill-chiefs [headmen], must bow down before them and pay them adoration"; Metz, 1864, 48–49. During the great memorial ceremony Wodeas are honoured with a bed on which they are invited to sit; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 14.
9. There have also been a few irregular marriages of Wodea girls to men living in Mysore State and the Kollegal Hills near Ha:sanu:ru; see below, pp. 216–217.
10. Grigg, 1880, 220; Francis, 1908, 130–131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 72–73. The name *Wodea* actually means 'owner, lord, master, ruler'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 45, n. 510.

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themselves are the women's work-groups, small cliques of village wives who work together in the fields and elsewhere, exchanging gossip and favours in the process. These female networks link up with the male ones through the wives of influential men (cf. Plate 10).

The sequence of contacts that have to be made if someone in the village is to influence or be influenced by people in the above list constitutes an intra-village network.

*Inter-Village Networks*

Two kinds of network fall under this heading, one linking agnates, the second affines. The first are ritual and juridical networks, linking up with distantly related men in other villages of the commune. This commune was first settled, it is claimed, by a man who founded the maximal lineage to which nearly all of the inhabitants belong. Hulla:ḍa people mostly belong to one of the three major lineages, this one established by Koṅga Hetappa, one of the commune founder's three sons. Within Hulla:ḍa and a nearby village (Ke:ti) the lineage is further divided into four minimal lineages, each descended from one of Koṅga Etappa's four sons. The more important festivals are celebrated in common by all sixteen villages in the commune, using ritual personnel from any of these villages. Serious problems are discussed by all the village headmen at the commune council. Hulla:ḍa villagers can establish contact with the wealthiest and most influential men in the commune by activating these two networks, either through a village headman or through a friend who has helped in the rituals.

Secondly, the marriage and visiting networks link Hulla:ḍa with villages beyond this commune. Marriages account for a network of social contacts with nearly two dozen other villages, and these are frequently activated by informal visits and by attendance at the festivals, weddings and funerals of affines. Small loans may be sought along these networks (Hockings, in press).

*Inter-Tribal Networks*

The Badagas of Hulla:ḍa were linked for certain economic and ritual purposes with particular Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas and Chettis. For the most part these associations have fallen into

lineage-kin.

The hamlet council, together with the hamlet headman, is at the lowest stage in a hierarchy of traditional councils and headmen. Some examples of how these councils work will be given when we discuss the changes they have been subjected to during the present century. We will now explain the working of the hamlet council, however, in broad outline.

Any villager with a dispute must take the matter to his own hamlet headman first, for the consideration of the hamlet council. If the defendant is from another hamlet, the plaintiff's headman will approach the headman of the other hamlet and they will arrange a joint council. If one party becomes dissatisfied with the manner in which the hamlet council has handled the case, or if the hamlet council has been unable to reach a decision, the case can be passed on to the level of the "village" council. As soon as the "village" headman hears about it, his first task is to enquire whether the case has already been heard by the hamlet council; for, as with the official Indian legal system, no case can come before a higher court before it has passed through the lower-level court. The "village" headman calls together a council consisting of all the hamlet headmen of his "village", as well as various assistants to these headmen and perhaps a few other respected elders. This group constitutes the council at the "village" level. In the same way, the divisional headman can call together a council of all the "village" headmen in his division, or the President of the Nilgiris can call a meeting of all the "village" headmen of all four divisions.

These last two steps are only taken on very rare occasions, especially in the present century, to settle factional disputes which have reached serious proportions without being resolved. The last such meeting was in June, 1957 (Dharma-

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lineage and clan. Once married, a brother and sister belong to different but linked clans, and so it is appropriate that their children should marry each other. If the pattern of brother/sister exchange continues for more than one generation the MBD *is* also a man's FZHD. Marriage between such cross-cousins thus has the effect of balancing out the bride-debt in alternating generations: in every generation the males take brides from those lineages to which their fathers had sent their own sisters in marriage. This reciprocity can be demonstrated statistically. Table 3 takes the example of Hulla:ḍa village, which is centrally located on the Nilgiri Plateau, and traces all available information on the number of wives who have joined it from other villages and the number of Hulla:ḍa girls who have gone in marriage to other villages. There were in 1963 (when I first did a complete census of the village) 98 women who had married into the village from other clans. Ten of these people were elderly widows whose connections with their natal villages had been broken off by death and time. Sixty other women, born in Hulla:ḍa, were known to be married elsewhere and still kept up some social ties, such as periodic visiting, with this, their natal village. Four women born here had done something quite atypical by marrying within Hulla:ḍa itself; but this situation was acceptable because it did not contravene the rule of clan exogamy. In each case either the husband or the wife belonged to a family of an "Outsider" lineage and another clan who had settled in this village quite recently from elsewhere. It should be pointed out that there was a tendency among the villagers to forget all about old widowed women, originally from this village, who had been living elsewhere for periods of up to 70 years; and this explains why the second column in Table 3 generally has a lesser number of women than does the first.

TABLE 3
Marriage Reciprocity Between Villages

| Affinal village | Number of living wives in Hulla:ḍa originally from— | Number of living Hulla:ḍa women married to— |
|---|---|---|
| Tumanatti | 29 | 13 |
| Mainele | 21 | 12 |
| Kundassappe | 11 | 13 |
| Tu:ne:ri | 7 | 9 |
| 15 other known villages | 20 | 15 |
| Now unknown villages | 10 | ? |
| | (*N*=98) | (*N*=60+?) |

It is remarkable that, out of well over a hundred suitable villages, a mere four of them account for about 70% of Hulla:ḍa's marriage ties. The normal practice here keeps the number of villages and families involved

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in its marriage network down to manageable proportions. There is definitely an ideal and a strong tendency towards reciprocity between two Badaga villages in the exchange of women. Thus 67% of all wives found in Hulla:ḍa in 1963 came from the first four villages named in Table 3. 78% of the daughters married away from Hulla:ḍa who still maintained social ties there were also living in those same four villages. This reciprocity is felt to be the responsibility of each lineage, and it is to some extent reflected in the data of Table 4 concerning the marriage patterns of each Hulla:ḍa lineage. (For simplicity, only the villages with which Hulla:ḍa was linked by more than 20 marriages in 1963 have been included.) This table shows that at that time Naḍu Mane lineage had a perfect record of reciprocity with those villages. O:sa Mane and the "Outsiders" (relatively recent settlers from elsewhere) manifest at least a tolerable degree of reciprocity. In fact, complete reciprocity is not often attainable because nubile women may not be available in a particular village when needed for a marriage, or required in Hulla:ḍa when available elsewhere. When a lineage has sent a disproportionately greater number of women in marriage to another village than it has received brides from that place, a sense of uneasiness with the situation is usually felt.

TABLE 4

Reciprocity in Marriage, by Lineages

| Hulla:ḍa Lineages | Women from | Known women to | Women from | Known women to | Women from | Known women to |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Tumanaṭṭi | | Mainele | | Kundassappe | |
| Doḍḍa Mane | 3 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Me:l Ke:ri | 9 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| Naḍu Mane | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| O:sa Mane | 6 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| "Outsiders" | 8 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |

Cross-cousin marriage does sometimes take the form of sister exchange, an ideally reciprocal arrangement. If a young man does not marry his ZHZ (who might be either a MBD or FZD to him), he commonly marries a related neighbour of his ZH. This alliance offers an easy resolution to the practical problem of finding a go-between and arranging the alliance: the youth has the excuse of visiting his married sisters while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides in their village, and the fathers of these girls can feel more secure about arranging a marriage with a family already linked to their village and perhaps the joint family through previous marriages.